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A N S W E R

To The Late

K. JAMES's

Last Declaration.

Dated at *St. Germain's*, April 17. S. N. 1693.

D U B L I N,

Printed by *Robert Thornton*, Stationer to Their
Majesties, and are to be Sold by
the Bookfellers. 1693.

This may be Printed,

June 5.
1693.

J. Trenchard.

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To the L A T E
K. J A M E S's
Last DECLARATION.

IT seems we are yearly to expect a *New Declaration* of the Late King's, and ev'ry one of them is to be of a quite different Strain from another. In that published the last Year, *K. James* was pleas'd to pull off the Mask, and give us his own genuine Intentions what he had a mind to do with us, when once he came to be our Master. Then he was firmly resolved to remount the

Throne by force of Arms, and to sap its new foundation with English Blood. This Kingdom was adjudged a *Hecatomb* to his Revenge; And indeed the whole Nation was by a fair consequence excepted out of his Indemnity; and nothing but Axes and Gibbets were to Attone for the Wrongs we had done him, but now its thought fit the Mask should once more be put on, and the Thunder of the Last Year be hush'd up in the Serene Temper of This. Here he desires rather to be beholding to his Subjects Love to him, than to any other expedient whatever, for his Restoration: But the last year he was to use no gentler Methods to regain us, than a French Army sent him by his dearest Brother the French King, that is in plain English, He was to render us Slaves in the Right of Conquest. A wonderful change in Stile! And the first Essay in Politicks of a New Ministry at St. Germain's.

But Good God! What a low Opinion must the Contrivers of this Declaration entertain of the whole Nation of England, if they imagin'd in good earnest such a gross Sham could take with them! When these Kingdoms have so severely felt the overthrow of their Laws, Religion and Liberties, brought upon them in spite of the most solemn Promises, and the Sanction of an Oath to the contrary: when an unexpected Providence had brake the Yoke from off our Necks, & secured to us all those valuable things we were upon the point of losing for ever, by changing our King, without changing the

An Answer to the Late

the Line or the Monarchy; to imagine that after all this, they can be wheedled in to trust the same Prince once more with their *All*, merely because forsooth He, or some in his Name, emits a kind of faint Promise to do otherwise than we know to our Fatal Experience he did before, is at the same time to suppose this Island to be Inhabited by a Herd of Brutes, and not Reasonable thinking Creatures.

I challenge all the Late King's *Declaration-Makers*, and even the suppos'd Contriver of this last, for whose Parts I have a just Esteem, to give me but one single instance from History. *That ever a free People, who from a just and recent sense of an Invasion made by a limited Monarch upon their Laws and Fundamental Constitution, had thereupon withdrawn their Allegiance from him, and confer'd it upon another, did ever afterwards willingly and tamely submit to His Government again.* No, there is not one instance of this kind in all the Records of time: For tho' scarce one Age has past without some remarkable Revolution in Kingdoms and States, yet a thing of this nature was never yet heard of since the World was.

This appears one of the most universally received Principles of Humane Society, *Never to trust the Promises of one that has broke with us before*; especially if those former were back'd with the Religious Sanction of an Oath. To break through this Principle in some trivial matter, may be perhaps pardonable in a Philosopher, or some good-natur'd man that ventures thereby no more than what he is content to lose.

But to submit the dearest and most sacred things that Men can possess on Earth, the Liberties, Laws, and Fundamental Constitutions of his Country, all that either He, or his Children after him, can call, or wish their own: To submit all these, I say, to a few feeble Promises of one that has broke so us much more solemn ones before, were a madness that never a Nation under Heaven was yet guilty of. As it is the easiest thing in the World to promise largely, when a man finds it his interest so to do; So it is ordinarily the last Refuge weak minds have their recourse to, when all other means of compulsion or persuasion fail. But at the same time, he that threatens highly, when he thinks he has power in his hands to make his Threats good, and comes thereafter to cajole with soft Promises of good Treatment, when that Power is gone; one must divest himself of all common sense, if he believe that that man's mind is really chang'd to the better, and does not ascribe the change of his manner of treating with us, to the change of his Fortune.

To bring this close to King James's Case; Last year all things were in a readiness in France for a formidable Descent upon us, and indeed it was within an ace of taking effect. We were ev'ry minute in hazard of seeing a French Army land upon our Coasts, and King James with them. Matters were so ripened for them in the Neighbouring Kingdom, that an Insurrection was to break out there, as soon as they set foot ashore here. In a word, The great Design of carrying a War into the Bowels of this Island by the Power of France, in conjunction with our Malecontents at home, was well enough laid, and wanted but little of Execution. Then
was

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was a time for a Generous Prince to tell the People of *England*, *He desir'd rather to be beholden to his Subjects Love, than to any other expedient whatsoever for his Restauration.* This had look'd plausible indeed, and one would have been tempted almost to believe he was in earnest. But alas! the Late King thought there was no obligation upon him *then* to hide or dissemble his Intentions. Buoy'd up with the hopes of an Infallible Success, he spoke his mind plain out, and in his *Declaration* at that time emitted, (to which I refer the Reader for brevity sake) he talk'd in a loftier strain from *St. Germain's*, and *his Camp in Normandy*, than ever yet he had done at the top of his Glory at *Whitehall*. Full with the mighty things he was to do at the head of a *French Army*, he was pleas'd not to *treat with us*, but to *treat us as Slaves he had a mind to Conquer with his Sword*: Nor could we have expected higher Language if we had been already lying groveling at a Conqueror's Feet.

But, God be thanked, the Scene is much alter'd with respect to King *James* since last Year. All the Designs of the *French Court* for this Year, are levell'd elsewhere, and we know of no Preparations for invading *England* this Summer. *Scotland* has not only put it self into a posture of defence, but the whole face of Affairs there are wonderfully changed by this Session of Parliament to the better, and the Late King's Party sufficiently humbled. It's from the consideration of this change of Affairs in *England* and *Scotland*, the Late King has been induc'd to change his Stile: And to this alone, instead of the Threats of the former, we are beholding for this last Whining Declaration.

But to come to the Declaration it self, to let the World see how little we fear its being capable to influence any body of common sense to their Party; we shall give the express words of it Paragraph by Paragraph, with some short Reflections on ev'ry one of them.

His Majesties most Gracious Declaration to all His Loving Subjects.

James R.

*Whereas we are most sensible that nothing has contributed so much to our Declarat
Misfortunes, and our Peoples Miseries, as the false and malicious Ca-
dumnies of our Enemies.*

Strange! Might not one have reasonably expected, that in four years retirement the late King should have been able to attain the knowledge of the real Causes of his own Misfortunes, and his Peoples Miseries? And is he yet to learn what all Europe is long since sufficiently persuaded of? If he has, We have not yet forgot, the breach of reiterated Promises, and
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a Coronation Oath, the setting up a Dispensing Power above, and contrary to Law; the bringing over an Army of Irish Papists amongst us; the employing those, and almost only those that by Acts of Parliament were incapable; the turning men out of their Freeholds for not obeying Commands directly contrary to an Oath they had taken before; the Endeavours made, and methods us'd for overturning the Religion establish'd by Law, and bringing in another by the same Law abolish'd, with a thousand other bare-fac'd Violations of our Rights and Constitution. All these were not the Calumnies of his Enemies. No! It was under those real and felt Evils we groan'd in the last Reign; And to a wilful and formed Design of bringing all these, and more upon us, King James is only to ascribe the loss of three Crowns.

Declarat Therefore we have always been, and still are, most willing to condescend to such things, as after mature deliberation we have thought most proper for removing thereof, and most likely to give the fullest Satisfaction and clearest Prospect of the greatest Security to all ranks and degrees of our People.

What a wonderful stock of Confidence was there required to pen this one single period? A period, which tho consisting but of two lines, yet contains no less than five Superlatives to make up an assertion that all England knows to be false. Has the late King been always most willing to condescend to such things as were thought most proper, and most likely to give the fullest Satisfaction, and clearest Security to his people? What then meant his stiff denial to comply with a Parliament that had express the firmest Loyalty to him in his greatest Exigence, when they came only to address him with all Expressions of humility, not to break in upon the Law, by employing those whom the Law incapacitated? Why sent he that Loyal Parliament a packing immediately upon the back of this Address; And told them plainly, he would do the quite contrary to what they advised him: Was this to be most willing to give the fullest satisfaction to his people; When he would needs invade the uncontroverted Rights of Magdalen Colledge, there was not wanting some, even then, to advise him of the danger and Illegality of that Design. How willing he was to hear any Terms of Moderation in that Affair, all the World knows; And the thrusting out the Master and Fellows of that House, meerly because they would not comply with an illegal Command, is not yet quite lost in the memory of man. The sending the Bishops to the Tower was another convincing Evidence of his being always most willing to give the clearest prospect of the greatest Security to all Ranks and Degrees of People. And to add one instance more to a great many others that might be nam'd, His refusal afterwards to call a Parliament upon the Address of the Lords spiritual and Temporal, in his greatest Exigence, and when his own Affairs most requir'd it, did scarce bespeak him a Prince most willing to give his people Satisfaction. So that if one had been to advise the Contrivers of this Declaration which way to make the whole look more ridiculous, it had been to put in this period, That he *still is* most willing to satisfy all Ranks and Degrees of People, in the same sense he has always been so, which we are very inclinable to believe: And so in that point we are agreed. And

K. James's Last Declaration.

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And because we desire rather to be beholding to our Subjects Love to us, than to any other expedient what ever, for our Restoration; We have thought fit to let them know before-hand our Royal and sincere Intentions; and that whenever our Peoples United Desires, and our Circumstances give us the opportunity to come and assert our Rights, We will come with the Declaration that follows.

Declarat

James R.

The Writer has stumbled here upon two unlucky expressions, *Our Sincere Intentions*, and *our peoples United Desires*. When he fell upon the first, it seems he had in his thoughts how naturally the people of England would be inclin'd to doubt the Sincerity of those promises he makes them in the late King's name; and even the very moment the words were dropping from his Pen, he himself was thinking how little credit they would obtain. By this he can scarcely be judg'd a fit *Amicus* for a King. It is infinitely below the Majesty and Honour of a Monarch to use the word *sincere* in speaking of his *Intentions*. Among Gentlemen, the interlarding their Discourse with such an expression, *As much as is true*, is not fashionable; for the very saying so, derogates from that just sense every virtuous man has of his own Honour and Veracity, which puts him beyond the suspicion of telling an untruth. But for a Minister to tell the people in his Prince's Name, That his Master's Intentions towards them are *Sincere*, is yet more ridiculous, by how much more the Word of a Prince ought to be more Sacred, and less liable to be suspected than that of private men.

The other Expression, *The united Desires of his People*, is an unluckily chose. If the late King come not to assert his Right till his peoples *united Desires* give him an opportunity, we are in no great danger of seeing him in England, or of making a trial how far he has a mind to keep his word. *United Desires* is a very comprehensive word; and it must be some Ages hence that such a thing can happen: For it will be hard enough for the Teeth of one Age at least, to eat out the Remembrance of the late Reign; and while that is not forgot, there is no great probability of the people of England's *Uniting* in their Desires to bring back King James.

All that we have hitherto given of the Declaration, being it seems intended only for a Preface to another within the Belly of it, the other follows thus;

JAMES R.

WHEN we reflect upon the Calamities of Our Kingdoms; We are not willing to leave any thing unattempted whereby we may reconcile Our Subjects to their Duty; And also we cannot enter into all the particulars of Grace and Goodness, which We shall be willing to grant; yet we do hereby

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a Coronation Oath, the setting up a Dispensing Power above, and contrary to Law; the bringing over an Army of Irish Papists amongst us; the employing those, and almost only those that by Acts of Parliament were incapable; the turning men out of their Freeholds for not obeying Commands directly contrary to an Oath they had taken before; the Endeavours made, and methods us'd for overturning the Religion establish'd by Law, and bringing in another by the same Law abolish'd, with a thousand other bare-fac'd Violations of our Rights and Constitution. All these were not the Calumnies of his Enemies. No! It was under those real and felt Evils we groan'd in the last Reign; And to a wilful and formed Design of bringing all these, and more upon us, King James is only to ascribe the loss of three Crowns.

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whereby assure all Our Loving Subjects, that they may depend upon every thing that their own Representatives shall offer, to make Our Kingdoms happy. For We have set it before Our Eyes, as Our Noblest Aim, to do yet more for their Constitution, than the most Renowned of Our Ancestors; And, as Our chiefest Interest, to leave no Umbrage for Jealousy, in Relation to Religion, Liberty, and Property.

King James has all the reason in the World to reflect upon the Calamities of these Kingdoms, since he was so very careful to bring them upon us. The Calamities we groan'd under in his Reign, have been hinted at before. Where to lay the Causes of the Calamities of this Reign (which we believe is principally, if not only here meant) is worthy of our Enquiry; and we need not go far to find them out. It must be acknowledged, that War in itself deserves well the name of a Calamity, and a great one too. But this we are at present engaged in, is a War of Necessity, and to save us from Calamities vastly greater than it self. It's a War for Defence of our Countrey, our Religion, our Liberties, and all that can be dear to us in the World; all which must stand or fall by the Success of it. If the exorbitant Greatness and Power of France should happen to prove fatal to us in the upshot, (which Heaven forbid!) We know whom to thank for it: And all Europe, even those of the late King's Religion, lay both it and all direful effects of it, with heaviest Execrations, at his door. It's a truth as conspicuous as a Ray of the Sun, That the two great Designs which took up the thoughts of a certain Prince both before and after his Accession to the Throne, were, *How to make France formidable abroad, and these 3 Nations Slaves at home.* It's only in these two Noble Designs, he can yet be call'd a *Successful Prince*; and for the first, instead of a Sanctuary in France, he deserves well the best Province of that Kingdom.

He tell us, *He is not willing to leave any thing unattempted whereby he may reconcile his Subjects to their Duty.* So we find neither foul nor fair means have been neglected, that's certain. Sometimes we have been Tried with Threats, and now there's another tryal how far Promises may work upon us. Sometimes the late King has a mind to reconcile us to our Duty by an Army of French and Irish; even those generous Gentlemen that have Signaliz'd themselves in their own Countrey for their singular kindness to those of our Religion: And sometimes when the other fails, he designs to be beholding only to his Peoples Love for his Restoration, and to come over, it seems, with only a few that shall be thought necessary to attend his person.

But we are fairly told, We have been, and are still out of our Duty; otherwise there were no need of *Reconciling us to it.* That is, in plain English, We are in his sense a pack of Villains and Traytors, That would not tamely submit our Religion, Laws and Liberties to be over-turn'd at his caprice; nor yield up our selves Slaves at discretion: But quite contrary, either concurr'd with, or accepted of our Deliverance when Heaven was

K. James's Last Declaration.

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was pleased to bring it home to our door. By this we may clearly judge of the Late King's Opinion of us, and be better able to make a shrewd conjecture of the sincerity of his intentions towards us. In this word of *Reconciling us to our Duty*, is still the old *Passive Obedience Principle* trump'd up upon us, which was once within an ace of ruining us all. And King James being still of Opinion, that we fail'd in our Duty when we left that Principle, It was not only altogether needless for him to make all those Promises, but we are Knaves if we receive him not again without them; since according to that Doctrine we are oblig'd to submit to him to day, though we were sure he would sell us all for Slaves to morrow.

We are told, *We may depend upon every thing that our Representatives shall offer to make us happy*. How willing the Late King was to Grant what our Representatives did offer to him for our necessary security only, I have mention'd before. He kick'd them out of doors merely because they presum'd humbly to Advise him to Govern according to Law; that is, *To Employ only those the Law capacitated for Employments*. With what sort of Representatives he aim'd afterwards during the whole course of his Reigⁿ, to fill St. Stephen's Chappel, *The Regulations of Corporations, the Closetings of Members, the Questions put to almost every man in England that had a voice in Elections*; and all the rest of the means us'd to get a pack'd House for Commons, were too publick witnesses. So that indeed King James may safely enough promise to grant what our Representatives shall offer, if he means such Representatives as those he was once minded to palm upon the Nation.

But he tells us, *He has yet before his eyes as his Noblest aim, to do yet more for our Constitution than the most Renowned of his Ancestors*. This is not the first time we have been told so: And indeed these words appear to come of course. For in a Speech he made to the Parliament in May 1685. he thought fit to tell them, *That he pleas'd himself with the hopes, that by God's Blessing, and their Assistance, he might carry the Reputation of this Nation higher in the World, than ever it had been in the time of any of his Ancestors*. The truth is, it was a severe proof enough of our Faith, even then, to believe the days of King James the 2d. should come to Eclipse those of Edward the 3d. or Henry the 5th. and it will be yet much more so now. Every body was at that time upon the enquiry, How his Late Majesty's hopes were then grounded, and what were the wonderful steps by which he expected to arrive at so high a pitch of Glory. We have been sufficiently enabled since to unriddle the Mystery: For instead of Conquests abroad, which has render'd the Reigns of some of his Ancestors so illustrious to Posterity; he had hopes to perpetuate the Memory of his, by much more remarkable, and in his opinion, much more glorious Conquests at home, even those he had a mind to obtain over our *Laws, Religion, and Liberties*.

Neither in this design was he altogether inexcusable, since upon his Principles, to subdue the Northern Heresy, carry'd more of true Glory
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along with it, than the Conquest of never so great a part of the world: If then he unluckily fail'd at that time to surpass the renown of his Ancestors, by making the Conquests I have hinted at, it's not to be doubted but he will push the harder for it the next time we give him an opportunity of doing it.

Declarat *And to encourage all our Loving Subjects, of what degree or quality soever, to set their Hearts and Hands to the perfecting of so good a Work, and to unite themselves in this only means of Establishing the future Peace and Prosperity of these Kingdoms, We have thought fit to publish and declare; That, on our part, We are ready and willing wholly to lay aside all thoughts of Animosity or Resentment for what is past; desiring nothing more, than that it should be buried in perpetual Oblivion.*

They must indeed be *his Loving Subjects* that set their hearts and hands to the perfecting the work of the Late King's Restoration; for none that have a true love for their Countrey will venture upon it. If this work of Restoring him to the Throne, be the only means of establishing the peace and happiness of these Kingdoms; Then Popery and Slavery must be quite other things than we took them to be. We fondly imagin'd our Lives and Estates could not be better bestow'd than in warding off those two from our selves, our Countrey and Posterity. But now our late Declaration-makers have found out the secret; for in stead of being such affrightful things as we believ'd, they are the only means to establish our peace and happiness; and indeed they, and the Restoring of King *James* are reciprocal, and must of necessity go hand in hand together.

He is ready and willing to lay aside all Resentments for what is past, desiring nothing more than that it should be buried in perpetual oblivion. It's hop'd we may without offence, believe him to be willing to lay aside all Resentments, in the same sense as we believe him to have been always most willing to condescend to such things as might give fullest satisfaction to his people; and the rather, that in believing this last, we arrive at the highest pitch of faith, even that of believing against sense. But does he really desire that all that's past should be buried in oblivion? Certainly he has all the reason in the world so to do; and they deserve to be branded for fools that doubt his Sincerity in that point. But tho the late King should, yet its hop'd the people of England are not yet willing to bury in oblivion what's past. The sense of the hazards they were in, was too great to be so soon forgot: And yet we are heartily content they should be no otherwise remembered, than as the Shipwreck'd Mariner retains the impression of the Shelf on which he once was in danger to split; that is, in order to shun it for the time to come.

Declarat *And do therefore by this our Declaration, under our Great Seal, solemnly promise our free Pardon and Indemnity to all our Loving Subjects, of what degree or quality soever who shall not by Land or Sea oppose Us, and those we shall think necessary to accompany our own person in this just attempt to recover our Rights;*
or

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or (in such a number of days after our Landing, as we shall hereafter express) shall not resist those who in any parts of our Dominions shall according to their Duty assert and maintain the Justice of our Cause: Beseeching God to incline the Hearts of our people, that all effusion of Blood may be prevented, and Righteousness and Mercy take place. And for that end, We further promise to all such as shall come to, and assist us, That we will reward them according to their respective Degrees and Merits.

Here is a touch of that mighty Act of Indemnity we are to be blest with, upon the late King's Restoration. An Indemnity which it's hop'd we shall never stand in need of, and yet one express'd in such words, as would stand us in no stead, tho we should come to plead it. He pardons all but such as *shall oppose him by Sea or Land.* A comprehensive Exception, and fully as wide as that universal one mention'd in his Declaration last year. The word *Oppose* may receive a thousand different Interpretations from the Bench; and God have mercy on us, if ever it come to that! For the late King, was always careful enough to pick out Judges sufficiently inclin'd to put what Interpretations on Words or Things best pleased their Master. However it be, we know above one hundred thousand people excepted by this Clause at one blow, all our Army by Land, and all our Fleet at Sea: They will certainly fall under the word *Oppose*, tho they should never strike a stroke in the Quarrel; the receiving a Commission to oppose him, among the rest of their Majesties Enemies, will admit of no favourable sense in the case. How far all the rest of the Nation may fall under the exception, we need only stretch the meaning of the word a little to find out; and indeed they will all go near to fall under the same Category with those that appear in Arms against him; for there is an *opposing* of him in the Parliament-House, in the Pulpit, in one's Chamber, and in a thousand other ways which a clear-witted *bene placito* Judge can easily find out.

As to his promise of *Rewarding those that shall come in to him*, he has been always very careful that no body should have cause to repent their good service to him. Witness the Parliament that had stuck so close to him in the affair of *Monmouth's* Insurrection, whom he turn'd out of doors when the danger was over; and the Prelates of the Church of England, who had adher'd to his Interest in the matter of the Bill of Exclusion, upon whom afterwards he put all the Affronts that were in his power; and, in fine, witness a great many Protestants that had serv'd him effectually against *Monmouth*, in keeping the Crown on his Head, whom he afterwards turn'd out of their Employments, to make way for his Rascally beloved *Irish*.

We do further declare, That we will, with all speed, call together the Representative Body of our Kingdom; And therein will inform our selves what are the united Interests and Inclinations of our People; and with their concurrence will be ready to redress all their Grievances, and give all those Securities of which they shall stand in need.

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in upon our Laws & Constitution, to favour those that were design'd to be our *Executioners*, at least the *Instruments of our Slavery*. A Principle to have such, and only such Representatives, was so rooted in the breast of that Prince, that even when the greatest danger came afterwards to threaten him, he could not bring himself to the temper of calling any other, tho' most of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal begg'd him earnestly so to do, as the only means to settle the then troubled state of his Affairs. The difficulties that then environ'd him, forc'd from him indeed a faint kind of compliance with their desire at first; he made a show of issuing out Writs for calling a Free Parliament; but so strong was his inclination to have none but such a pack'd House of Commons, as might serve the Great Turn he had so long aim'd at, that before half the Writs were sealed, all the Scheme was altered in a moment, and things went on in the old channel again. Here was a demonstration with a witness, how far the late King was inclin'd to call together the *Representative Body of the Kingdom*: And he that could not be brought to it at so pinching a juncture as that was, can never in reason be thought a hearty Friend to *Free Parliaments*.

Upon calling this *Representative Body*, he will inform himself what are the *United Interests and Inclinations of his people*. Sure he cannot be yet to learn what those are; and he has had too many and too remarkable occasions not to be ignorant of them. He could not but be so much acquainted with the Interests and Inclinations of the people of *England*, as to see a rooted Principle of Liberty in opposition to Slavery, predominant in every *English* breast; and yet all that did not hinder him from a form'd Design of over-turning the very fundamental Constitution that rendred that Principle of theirs warrantable. He could not but know that the inclinations of the generality of the people of *England* were averse to the Religion of *Rome*, and that their interests were quite opposite to that Hierarchy: Yet this did not dissuade him from making more steps in four years time towards the reconciling this Nation (as the then Court-Phrase was) to the Church of *Rome*, than was made in *France* it self from the Death of *Henry 4th.* till about three years before the *Edict of Nantz* was revok'd for good and all.

But with the Concurrence of this *Representative-Body*, he will be ready to redress all Grievances, and give all those Securities of which we shall stand in need. There was a time when scarce one single step was made in the Government, but what deserv'd well the name of a *Grievance*; and how well these *Grievances* were redress'd, is worthy of our Enquiry: The late King was not warm in the Throne when he ventur'd fairly to give us a taste of what he was afterwards to do: He order'd a part of the Revenue that expired with his Brother's Death, to be levied for his own use; and that by virtue of his own Edict, without an Act of Parliament. A little after this, he would needs send a solemn Ambassy to *Rome*, to lay his Crown and Kingdoms at the Pope's Feet: A Compliment few Kings ever made, lest it should be taken in good earnest. The Sights his Ambassador met with there, were

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were not able to mortify his Zeal in the least degree: As he had sent a Splendid Embassy to the Pope, so he could not rest till he obtained the *Glory of seeing a Nuncio sent hither, whom he not only caressed himself, but made it a crime even in the greatest Peers of the Kingdom, to refuse to attend at his Publick Entry, a Minister whose Character was in it self High-Treason by the Law of England.* After the Storm rais'd by *Mormouth* was over, he plainly tells the Parliament then sitting, *That he will Employ Roman-Catholicks in his Army*; that was as much in plain English, as if he had said, *Gentlemen, I judge it fit to tell you, I think not my self obliged to govern any longer according to Law, now that by your kind assistance I am rid of a Competitor in the Throne.* After this we were not to expect any fair weather; all that followed was Thunder and Lightning: *The Penal Laws and Test must be taken off*; and the Dissenters cajol'd to consent to what at last was to ruin them as well as the Church of England. Till a packt Parliament could be got to do this Job, a *Dispensing Power* was set up, that upon the matter was to supply the place of an *AB of Parliament.*

This devouring Monster, altogether unknown to our Ancestors, was not only to swallow up all Laws that stood in the late King's way towards the *Grand Design*, but was to have the force of a Law in it self as strong as any ever made by *King, Lords, and Commons.* It was this *Paramount, All-devouring Power*, claim'd by King James, that produc'd afterwards the *Ecclesiastical Commission*; the *Suspension of the first Bishop of England*; the *dash'ing in pieces the Ancient Rights of Magdalen College*; the *Imprisonment of the Bishops in the Tower*; and a great many other things too long to be mention'd here. All these were Grievances of a deep dye, and yet neither Prayers nor Tears, Submissions nor Remonstrances could prevail with him to mitigate the weight of any of these blows. They were heavy Grievances, and he knew, and was told every day, they were so, And how ready he was to redress them, the whole course of that Reign testifies.

In the same sence he is willing to redress our grievances, he may perhaps be ~~be~~ willing to give us those securities we stand in need of. Thanks to his love for what we do not want. We know no better, nor more natural securities than our Laws are; they are the only sence, next to Providence, we trust in; and while they are not violated, we are safe. But had not we those securities before, and did not the late King break through them; Could any Law in the world be express'd in more positive terms than that of the Test: And yet this well-twisted rope, like that of Sampson's of old, prov'd but a thred of towne, when the fury of King James's Zeal came to touch it.

We likewise declare, upon our Royal Word, That we will protect and defend *Declarat* the Church of England as it is now established by Law; and secure to the Members of it, all the Churches, Universities, Colleges and Schools, together with their Immunities, Rights and Priviledges.

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This is not the first time the Late King has promis'd all this, and done quite otherwise. King *Charles the Second* was scarce yet cold clay, when in the Speech he made to his New Council, He told them, *He would make it his Endeavour to Preserve the Government both in Church and State as it was then Establish'd by Law*: And afterwards adds, *That he should always defend and support the Church of England, and the Members of it*. I cannot see how larger promises could have been made: And this last is but a Repetition of the Former. Yet how well they were kept, we have number'd up Instances enough already.

Thanks to Heaven, and to the Laws already made, the Church of England, and the Members of it, are much better secured, than King *James's* Royal word can possibly do it, though he had never given us ground to call the truth of it in question: Having so strong Barriers already, we were errant Fools to trust our safety to so weak props that have fail'd us so often before.

Declarat We also declare, We will with all earnestness recommend to that Parliament such an Impartial Liberty of Conscience, as they shall think necessary for the Happiness of these Nations.

We have not altogether forgot what kind of Liberty of Conscience the Late King always aim'd at; a Liberty fatal to, and inconsistent with the safety of the Protestant Religion, and infallibly destructive to the Church of England. A Liberty that was to end in the exalting the *Romish* Religion to a pitch in England that was not even the interest of wise *Roman* Catholics themselves to wish. But why recommend to a Parliament Liberty of Conscience? Might not the Dispensing Power supply all defects as it did before? And if the Late King has an unquestion'd right to emit a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience when and how he pleaseth; which was Treason in effect to Controvert some years ago; then it's altogether a piece of folly to trouble a Parliament with it. This one Engine was like *Goliath's* Sword, has none like to it, and it would indeed be a disparagement to use any other when that is so ready at hand on all occasions. But alas! the word *Impartial Liberty* has unluckily slip'd in in the Declaration: How came any body to dream that an *Impartial Liberty* of Conscience would ever please the Protestants of England? An *Impartial Liberty*, is a Liberty of equal extent to all: And does King *James* think the people of England would be willing there should be a Liberty of Conscience granted to the *Roman* Catholics, equal to what the Laws have already secured in favour of the Protestants? In this sense all the Bishopricks and Livings of England must be divided impartially into equal parts; we must have one *Roman* Catholick Archbishop, and the other a Protestant, and thus it must be with the Dignities and Livings of the Church. The truth is, when King *James* comes back, we shall be heartily content with this division, and think we well escape too; if he takes no more than one half: But who shall be security to us we shall lose no more!

We

K. James's Last Declaration.

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We further declare, We will not dispense with, or violate the Test. And, as for the Dispensing Power in other matters, we leave it to be explained and limited by that Parliament. Declarat

A very Gracious Promise, and a mighty Condescension! *He will not dispense with the Test*, as he did before, tho' still he has a Right so to do if he pleases; for we were often told in the last Reign, That this Dispensing Power was one of the brightest Jewels of the Crown; and in a Royal Declaration for Liberty of Conscience to the Neighbouring Kingdom, he told them plainly he dispensed with all Laws to the contrary; by Virtue of that Absolute Power every body was obliged to obey without Reserve. So that here is indeed no more than a simple Promise not to make use of that Power to dispense with the Test, which he has an undoubted Right to still; whereas the Law, and the People of England say, there is no such Power lodg'd anywhere; and nothing but an Act of Parliament can suspend or make void an Act of Parliament in this case: But pray how does this Promise, *Not to violate the Test*, agree with the Notion the late King always express'd he had of it? He was pleas'd in his Closings of Gentlemen, constantly to inculcate into them, the unjustice of the Test in it self; how contradictory it was to that Christian Charity which ought to be among his Subjects; how contrary to the very Law of Nature it self, that any body should be incapacitated to serve their Country upon the account of their Religion. These were the Common-Places the late King had constant recourse to, in all his Arguments for taking off the Test: and in a great many Papers publish'd at that time by Publick Authority, the same frightful Ideas were again and again represented. If this Test then be such an unjust thing in it self, if it be so contradictory to the Rules of Charity and the Law of Nature, how comes it about now, that he is resolv'd not to violate that, which according to his Principles he is indeed obliged to abolish? But Promises cost nothing, especially when the Performance is never intended.

We declare also, That we will give Our Royal Assent to all such Bills as are necessary to secure the frequent calling and holding of Parliaments; The free Elections and fair Returns of Members; And provide for Impartial Trials: And that we will ratify and confirm all such Laws made under the present Usurpation, as shall be tender'd to us by that Parliament. Declarat

Here is a very comprehensive Paragraph, and deserves well to be taken into consideration by pieces. *He will give his Royal Assent to all such Bills as are necessary to secure the frequent Calling and Sitting of Parliaments.* We all know the reason of putting in this Clause at this time: But instead of frequent Parliaments, if King James were once again upon the Throne, we would rather there were none at all; Since nothing can be of more dangerous consequence to England, than the sitting of such kind of Parliaments

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ments as that which King *James* always aim'd at. Doubtless we should then have a *Representative Body* (to give it in his own Words) that would render all Representations of the People in Parliament for the time to come needless. We might expect to see our Liberties and Laws given up to the Will of a Prince all at once, and all the struggles between the Prerogative and Rights of the Subject put an end to at one blow, in the entire resigning up all Pretences to these last for ever. So far then would the calling of Parliaments be a terror to us, that ev'ry Session of them would be but so many new Links added to our Chain, till all remaining impressions of our former Liberty were intirely swallowed up in an irrecoverable Slavery.

The Freedom of Election, and fair Returns of Members, are two things diametrically opposite to the late King's former Measures : And he does, or at least may know the Temper of this Nation better, than to hope to succeed in his Designs by the means of a Parliament freely constituted of true Englishmen. Slavery is a Pill will never go down with them; And it's only to a pack'd House of Commons that those of King *James's* Religion can ever owe their long experienced Triumphs. That he will provide for *Impartial Trials*, we do not at all doubt, if he mean *Trials without favour or prospect of mercy*; for of those, the last Reign was but one continued Instance; and indeed nobody can blame the late King for not executing Justice to the full.

But this is not all : There are yet greater Blessings in store for us ; *He will Ratify and Confirm all such Laws made under the present Usurpation as shall be tender'd him by that Parliament.* Good God ! where have we been all this time with our distinction of a *King de facto*, that some People have coin'd to save both their Credit and Estates ! Our Law says expressly, *That whatever is done by a King in Possession, is sufficiently valid.* But here the late King at one dash (and I believe, without thinking on what he had promis'd us a few lines before) does plainly insinuate, that he is resolv'd to stand to what has been Enacted by a King in Possession, not because it's Law, but out of meer compliment to his new Parliament. So we have here a standing Law since the days of *Henry the 7th*, torn up by the Roots, & one of the most necessary provisions for the Publick Safety unhing'd : And if this be not all over the Dispensing Power, or rather worse, I refer it to every body of common Sense. However, if it be any mitigation of sorrow to have Companions in it, we shall have the pleasure to see our *de Facto Gentlemen* come, in for their share of a Publick Calamity, in which their nice distinction will stand them in no stead, as probably some of them vainly hop'd.

Declarat *And in that Parliament We will also consent to every thing they shall think necessary to re-establish the late Act of Settlement of Ireland made in the Reign of our Dearest Brother ; And will advise with them, how to recompence such of*
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that Nation as have followed us to the last, and who may suffer by the said Re-Establishment, according to the degree of their Sufferings thereby; Yet so as that the said Act of Settlement may always remain Intire.

And, if Chimney-money, or any other part of the Revenue of the Crown, has been burthensome to our Subjects, We shall be ready to exchange it for any other Assesment that shall be thought more easie.

There was certainly a great measure of confidence requir'd to mention the first part of this period without a Blush. *The Abolishing the Act of Settlement in Ireland* was the Late King's Master-piece. In *England* he made only one step after another in order to overthrow our Legal Constitution: But in *Ireland* he was pleas'd, and that in a Parliamentary way at one blow to overturn the *Great Charter* by which the Protestants of that Island enjoy'd their Estates. The true reason of this difference in his treating them and us, was because *here* he had not yet been able to get a Parliament according to his mind; but *there* he found just such a one as he wish'd for. They went thorough-stitch without the least hesitation, and struck home at the Root of the *English Liberty*, in making void the *Act of Settlement*, which was the only Pillar it lean'd upon. But now *he will consent to the Re-Establishing that Act of Settlement*. Very probable the only best time for a Man to shew his real Inclinations is, when he is a Master, and may do it without controul. By what the Late King did in *Ireland*, we may best judge what he inclines to do *of himself*; for there he was Master of his own designs, having few or none but those of his own Religion and Principles about him, and consequently none to oppose him. If then it was that he shew'd such an open Hatred against the Protestants of *Ireland*, as at one dash to send some Hundred Thousands of them a Begging, by making void the Fundamental Law to which they ow'd their Bread, what are we justly to expect from him in *England* if we by an unexampled piece of Folly bring him back to be our Master here?

But tho he designs to re-establish the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*, *He will not permit his dear Irish to suffer by it, no, they are to be recompenc'd according to the degree of their sufferings*. This period must certainly be a very relishing one to the many Thousand Protestants of that Kingdom who have been ruin'd by the *Irish*, and who cannot think of them without a just horror for the Barbarities they committed in the last Rebellions. We are to have Golden Days, when those whose Hands are yet reeking in Protestant Blood, are to be recompenc'd for shedding it: Strange! We must be the most abject Slaves that ever were, if we can hear this with Patience. And vvhhat signs has the *English Nation* yet given of so gross stupidity, that encouraged the Contrivers of this Declaration to banter us at this rate? it had been time enough to have told us this, vvhhen the vvreath is about our Necks, and groaning under the vveight of our Chains; but beforehand, vvhile vve are yet free, to en-

certain us with such a dismal prospect, is a piece of Policy I believe very few are able to fathom.

He puts a mighty Obligation upon us in being ready to exchange the Chimney-money for any other Assesment that shall be thought more easy. The truth is, this is wisely enough propos'd, and upon a very reasonable foresight. If ever the Late King return, Chimney-money must certainly sink; no Protestant that can flee, will be very desirous to stay in England, and consequently from that and a thousand other Calamities wasting us, there must necessarily come to be a vast number of Houses without Fire or Smoke, for want of Inhabitants.

Declarat Thus We have sincerely Declared Our Royal Intentions, in terms we think necessary, for Settling Our Subjects minds; and according to the advice and intimations we have received from great numbers of Our Subjects of all Ranks and Degrees, who have adjusted the manner of Our coming to regain Our own Rights, and to relieve Our People from Oppression and Slavery:

After this, we suppose it will not be necessary to enumerate the Tyrannical Violations and Burdens with which Our Kingdoms have been oppressed, and are now like to be destroyed.

We have a great many too too recent grounds to know the late King's Royal Intentions towards us, without running to this Declaration to search for them. The truth was, he could not in some sense be call'd a dangerous Prince, as people are inclinable to call those that hide their designs from publick view. He was open enough in all he aim'd at; and whether it was from his natural temper, or that he thought himself sure of Success, he was never at much pains to disguise his Intentions, but in stead of working under ground our ruine, he push'd it on with a high hand, and like Alexander the Great (tho upon a more ignoble occasion) he scorn'd to steal upon us a Victory. But all this openness was only when he was upon the Throne, at the Head of a good Army; now the case is quite alter'd, and a little disguising is thought proper in his present circumstances.

We know of no Oppression and Slavery we lye under at present. If our Taxes be thought heavy in themselves, they are not so, if we consider they are given to ward off the greatest miseries that can befall a Nation; and we must be a base People indeed, if we think our Religion and Liberty can be too dear bought. Now, we pay a part, and we have a right to call the rest our own; but if our Enemies had their Wills of us, in stead of a Part, they would make themselves Masters of our All. Herein we make a Composition, that a great many of our Neighbours envy us for, who would be heartily willing to part with the Quota of their Estates we retain, provided they might be suffer'd to enjoy the Proportion but of what we pay.

And

K. James's Last Declaration.

19

And whereas our Enemies endeavour to affright our Subjects with the apprehensions of great Sums which must be repaid to France; We positively assure them, That our Dearest Brother, The Most Christian King, expects no other Compensation for what he has done for us, than merely the Glory of having Succour'd an Injur'd Prince. Declarat

To tell us at this time of day of the Generosity of his dearest Brother, the Most Christian King, is news indeed. All Europe, and his own Subjects, are sufficiently sensible how well that Name becomes him. Tho he had mortally hated the late King, he did no more but what his own proper Interest obliged him to, in protecting him; And never had a Prince a larger prospect of Advantage, than the French King has at present from King James; since it's by his means he intends, if possible, to make these three Kingdoms slaves to France. But how comes the Late King to make us so large Promises for his dearest Brother: Is it because he supposes nobody will be prevail'd with to believe the French King upon his own word; and if so, he is much in the right on't: Or is it, that he expects we will rely more upon his word, when he promises for another, than for himself: If so, he is mistaken, for we believe 'em both alike. The King of Spain has more reason on many accounts to call the French King his dearest Brother, being indeed so, in more senses than one; and yet he has found to his sad experience, that no Oath nor Treaty could tie him up from pretensions less plausible than those he has against England upon the account of King James. He renounc'd again and again by his solemn Oath, and upon the Sacrament, all Pretences to Flanders in right of his Mother or Wife; and yet every time he swore so, he broke it as soon as he was in a condition so to do. Shall King James or we expect better Treatment from the French King, than the King of Spain his Cousin German, and Brother-in-Law, that never wrong'd him, has met with? We to whom he imputes his having been put to the Charges of a long War, and King James who has been upon the matter of the Original Cause of it?

We only add, That we come to vindicate our Right, and to establish the Liberties of our People. And may GOD give us success in the prosecution of the one, as We sincerely intend the Confirmation of the other. Declarat

JAMES R.

Given at St. Germaines en Laye, April 17th. S. N. 1693.

And in the Ninth Year of our Reign.

God Save the King.

The Contrivers of this Declaration have made pretty bold with the Late King, in palming upon him a kind of Oath or Execration, that it's probable he knows nothing of. Methinks they deserve but little thanks that put thus upon their Master, what they themselves believe he would not approve of; unless they think, after the breach of a Coronation-Oath,

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Thus I have fought with a Phantome, appearing in the likeness of a Declaration from *K. James*, but for ought I know, *A Paper contriv'd, writ, and Printed here without his direction, and perhaps his knowledge*. I pretend to no Honour in so inglorious a Cause; tho' I must acknowledge the decency that's due to a Prince whose Name is affixt to it, has hinder'd me from treating the Party that contriv'd it, so ill as they deserve.

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16

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